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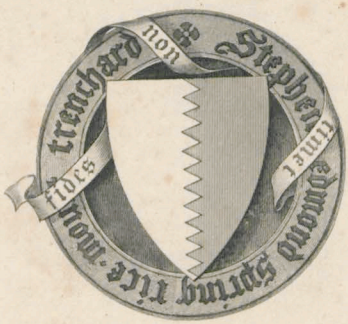

THE Kings Cabinet opened:

OR,

CERTAIN PACKETS OF SECRET LETTERS & PAPERS,

Written with the Kings own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at *Nasby-Field*, JUNE 14. 1645.

By Victorious Sr. *Thomas Fairfax*;

Wherein many mysteries of State, tending to the Justification of that CAUSE, for which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* joyned battell that memorable day are clearly laid open;

Together, with some Annotations thereupon.

Published by speciall Order of the *Parliament*.

LONDON,
Printed for *Robert Bostock*, dwelling in *Pauls* Church-yard, at the Signe of the Kings-head, 1645.

Rare BK
DA
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IT were a great sin against the mercies of God, to conceale those evidences of truth, which hee so graciously (and almost miraculously) by surprizall of these Papers, hath put into our hands; nor dare we smother this light under a Bushell, but freely hold it out to our seduced brethren, (for so in the spirit of meeknesse labouring to reclaim them, we still speak) that they may see their errors, and return into the right way: For those that wilfully deviate, and make it their profession to oppose the truth, we think it below us, to revile them with opprobrious language, remembring the Apostle St. *Jude*, and that example which he gives us in his Epistle. They may see here in his privat Letters what affection the King beares to his people, what language and titles he bestowes upon his great Councell; which we return not again, but consider with sorrow, that it comes from a Prince seduced out of his proper sphear; one that has left that seat in which he ought, and hath bound himselfe to sit, to sit (as the Psalmist speaks) in the *Chair of the scornfull*; & to the ruine (almost) of three Kingdoms, hath *walked in the counsels of the ungodly*; and though in our tenents we annex no infallibity to the seat of a King in Parliament, as the *Romanists* do to the Papall Chaire, (since all men are subject to errour) yet we dare boldly say, that no *English* King did ever from that place, speak

destruction to his people, but safety and honour; nor any that abhorred that Seat and Councell, but did the contrary. Therefore, Reader, to come now to the present businesse of these Letters; thou art either a friend or enemy to our cause: If thou art well affected to that Cause of Liberty & Religion, which the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* now maintain against a combination of all the Papists in *Europe* almost, especially the bloody Tygers of *Ireland*, and some of the Prelaticall and Court Faction in *England*: thou wilt be abundantly satisfied with these Letters here printed, and take notice therefrom, how the Court has been *Caiolde*, (thats the new authentick word now amongst our Cabalisticall adversaries) by the Papists, and we the more beleeving sort of Protestants, by the Court. If thou art an enemy to Parliaments and Reformation, and made willfull in thy enmity beyond the help of miracles, or such revelations as these are, then tis to be expected, that thou wilt either deny these papers to have been written by the Kings own hand, or else that we make just constructions and inferences out of them: Or lastly, thou wilt deny, though they be the Kings own, and beare such a sense as we understand them in, yet that they are blameable, or unjustifiable against such rebels as we are. As to the first, know that the Parliament was never yet guilty of such forgery, the King yet in all the Letters of his, which have been hitherto intercepted, never objected any such thing, and we dare appeale to his own conscience now, knowing that he cannot disavow either his own hand writing, or the matters themselves here written. All the Ciphers, Letters, all circumstances of time, and fact, and the very hand by which they are signed (so generally known and now exposed to the view of all) will averre for us, that no such forgery could be possible. As to our Comments and

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Annotations, if there be not perſpicuity and modeſty in them, there is no com non juſtice nor place for credit left amongſt mankind: but indeed moſt of the main circumſtances want no illuſtration at all to the moſt vulgar capacities: and therefore we affirm nothing neceſſary to be beleeved, but what the printed papers will themſelves utter in their own language: and yet for that which is not ſo clearly warranted here, we have other Papers for their warrant, were they not too numerous, and vaſt, and too much intermixed with other matter of no pertinence for publication at this time. Touching the laſt objection, if thou art a perfect malignant, and doſt not ſtick to deny, that there is any thing in theſe letters unbeſeeming a Prince, who profeſſes himſelf Defender of the true Faith, a tender Father of his Countrey, and has been ſo ſanctimoniouſly ingaged with frequent, ſpeciall vowes of affection, candour, ſincerity, and conſtancie to his particular proteſtant ſubjects of *England* and *Scotland:* Then know, that thou art ſcarce worthy of any reply, or ſatisfaction in this point. Our cauſe is now the ſame as it was when the King firſt took up Armes, and as it was when the King made moſt of theſe oathes and profeſsions. Our three propoſitions concerning the abolition of Epiſcopacy, the ſetling the Militia of the three Kingdomes in good hands, by advice of Parliament, the vindication of the *Iriſh* rebels, being all our main demands at the Treaty in February laſt, and no other then the Propoſitions ſent in June 1642. before any ſtroke ſtruck, will beare us witneſſe that we have rather ſtraitned then enlarged our complaints. But were our cauſe altered, as it is not; or were we worſe rebels then formerly, as none can affirm which takes notice of our late ſufferings, and our ſtrange patience even now after the diſcovery of theſe Papers, and our late extraordinary ſucceſſe

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in the Field, yet ſtill this clandeſtine proceeding againſt us here, and condemning all that are in any degree Proteſtants at *Oxford*; as alſo granting a toleration of Idolatry to Papiſts, indemnity to the murtherous Iriſh, in a cloſe trading way for meer particular advantage, cannot be defended by any, but by the falſeſt of men, Papiſts; or the falſeſt of Papiſts, Jeſuits. Hitherto the *Engliſh* have had commiſsion to chaſtiſe the *Iriſh*, the *Iriſh* have had the like to chaſtiſe the *Engliſh*, both have ſpilt each others blood by the Kings warrant; yet as both have been in part owned, ſo both have been in part diſowned, and the King himſelfe has not appeared with an open face in the buſines, but now by Gods good providence the traverſe Curtain is drawn, and the King writing to *Ormond*, and the Queen, what they muſt not diſcloſe, is preſented upon the ſtage. God grant that the drawing of this Curtain may bee as fatall to Popery, and all Antichriſtian hereſie here now, as the renting of the vaile was to the Jewiſh Ceremonies in *Iudea*, at the expiration of our Saviour.

Oxford

15. I

Oxford Ian. 9.

Deare heart,

SInce my last, which was by *Talbot*, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire me to send a Commission to the generall Assembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making a handsome negative, I have demanded a passeport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that *Lentall* the speaker brags, that Cardinall *Mazarin* keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not sweare that *Lentall* sayes true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabrian*, I am confident that either he or his Instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from *London*, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (besides four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that General *Goring* prospers wel where he is, and since *Munday* last hath taken 80. of the Rebels Horse: and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

POSTSCRIPT.

The setling of Religion, and the Militia, are the first to be treated on: and bee confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy nor that sword which God hath given into my hands.

29. 15.

Copie to my wife 9. Jan. 1644.

By P. A.

This is a true Copie, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

31.

OXford, Sunday 30. *March*. Deare heart, since my last (which was but 3. dayes a go) there are no alterations hapned of moment, preparations rather then actions being yet our chiefest businesse, in which we hope that we proceed faster then the Rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very slowly; and I beleeve, they are much weaker then is thought, even here at *Oxford*. For instance, A very honest servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable *London* Rebels, who will not let his name be known untill he have hope that his proposition will take effect; it is this, That since the Treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming totall yeelding to the other. The Treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted my servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy & glorious a work as is the peace of this Kingdom; *but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned*, therefore he was to be *satisfied of the rebels willingnesse to yeeld to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers*. This I beleeve will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France will bee the best way for transportation of the D. of Lorraines Army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the Western coasts, besides the Ports under my obedience, as Shelsey neer Chichester and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the Field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine,

18. 31.

To my Wife 30. March. 1645. by *Petit*.

This is a true Copie examined by *Edmond Prideaux*.

Oxford,

30. III

Oxford Thursday 27. March.

DEar heart, I wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*, the subject of it was onely kindnesse to thee; which, I assure thee shall ever be visible in all my actions: And now I come to *Jermins* account, given me by thy command, which is very cleare, hopefull in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care & industry. As for the main impediment in the D. of *Lorrains* businesse (which is his passage) why may thou not procure him passage through *France?* (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea transportation in respect of landing on the Western Coast, which I beleeve will be found the best, there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this an opinion, not a direction.

The generall face of my affairs me thinks begins to mend, the dissensions at *London* rather increasing then ceasing, *Montross* daily prospering, my Western businesse mending apace, and hopefull in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other,) I am confident to be in a better condition this yeare, then I have been since this rebellion began, and possibly I may put faire for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so farewell dear heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow Percies *place on the M. of Newcastle, to whom yet I am no wayes ingaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for* Jack Barclay, *I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making of him Master of the Wards: For* Cottington *had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secr.* Nich. *if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.*

I desire thee to command Lo. Jer. *to read to thee the Ds Letter, which goes herwith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the D. Lorrains Army.*

23. 30.

To my Wife 27. Mar. 1645. *by* P. A.

This is a true Copy examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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39. IIII

OXford, Sunday 4. *May.* Dear Heart, the Rebels new brutish Generall hath refused to meddle with forrain Passes, so as

yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of London which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West, and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God my Affairs b gins to smile upon me again, Wales being well swept of the Rebels. Farrington having relieved it self; and now being secured by *Gorings* coming, my Nephues likewise having brought me a strong party of Horse and Foot, these Quarters are so free that I hope to be marching within three or foure dayes, and am still confident to have the start of the Rebels this yeer: I am likewise very hopeful that my Son will shortly be in the head of a good Army, for this I have the cheerfull assurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde*: Of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of recoʃening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealousie and discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put my Nephew *Rupert* in that place, which will both save me charge, and stop other mens grumb'lings: I have now no more to say, but praying for and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

39

To my wife 4 *May* 1645. By *Malin St. Ravy.*

This is a true Copie examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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13 V

Oxford. 2. *Jan.*

Dear Heart,

HAving decyphered thine which I received yesterday I was much surprised to find thee, blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from either of my Secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

"As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall re-
"fer thee to *Digby* for particular satisfaction, this in generall; If
"there had been but two (besides my Self) of my opinion, I had
"not done it, and the Argument that prevailed with me, was,
"that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them, to be a Par-
"liament

"liament, upon which condition and construction I did it and no "otherwayes, and accordingly it is registred in the Councell "books, with the Councels unanimous approbation; but thou "wilt find, that it was by misfortune, not neglect that thou hast "been no sooner advertised of it

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know, thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the uglyest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it, the fear of some such mischance made me the more carefull, to give thee a full account by *Tom Eliot*, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou heares the reasons of them, from me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much eare unto them. To conclude, esteeme me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou lefts me withall, & so farewell Dear heart.

21. 13.

Copie to my wife 2 *Jan.* 1645: by *P. A.*

4

This is a true Copie examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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21 VI

Oxford 19. *Feb.* old stile. Dear heart, I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our Treaty, onely, the unreasonable stubbornesse of the Rebels, gives daily lesse and lesse hopes, of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumors shall hinder thee from hastning all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the D. of Lorraines; concerning which I received yesterday, good news from Dr. *Goffe*, that the P. of Orange will furnish Shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his Negotiation goes hopefully on, by which, and many other wayes, I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their severall kinds) to esteeme most; but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have recei-

ved certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montrose*; who upon surprise, totally routed those Rebels, killed 1500. upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of 27. Jan. by the Portugal Agent, the onely way (but expresses) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed *Sabran* sent me word yesterday, besides *some complements of the Imbargo of the rebels ships in France (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindnesse)* but is well enough content that the Portugall should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the rebels either by going to *London*, or diss-banding my Army before a peace, do no wayes feare my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly: for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a farre dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us) then to put my selfe into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine

I can now assure thee, that Hertogen *the Irish Agent, is an arrant knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquets.*

11. 21
To my Wife 19. *Feb.* 1645. *by* P. A.
4

This is a true Copy examined by *Edmond Prideaux.*

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20. VII

DEare heart, the expectation of an expresse from thee (as I find by thine of the 4. *Febr.*) is very good newes to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day lesse hopes then other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within my self. The limited dayes for treating, are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of dayes, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee, that thou *needst not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my Commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatned nor disputed*

disputed from the grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou so well remembers. And in this not onely their obedience, but *their* judgements concur. I confesse in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to *London*: for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way then was fit; of which perswasion *Percy* is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or beleeved by thee concerning our proceedings here. *In short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou lowes me, let none perswade thee to slaken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine,* C.R.

15 4

Oxford 25. Feb. 1645.

3. 20.

To my Wife 15. Feb. 1645. by *P.A.*

This is a true Copie examined by *Edmond Prideaux.*

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22. VIII

DEar heart, now is come to passe what I fore-saw, the fruitlesse end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it: for besides that my Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light roully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appeare to the world, that the *English* Rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the Scots, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the onely end of the Scotch Rebellion; but it being presumption, & no pietie: so to trust to a good cause, as not to use *all lawfull means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, then hitherto thou hast had: It is that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penall laws against the Roman Catholicks in England as soon as God shall inable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerfull assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it.* But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it

will

wil be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secresy this busines requires; yet this I wil say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwix us: *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this.* I trusting thee, (though it concern religion) as if thou wert a protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this bearer *Pooly*, that I wil not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new Cypher (assuring thee, that none hath or shal have any copy of it but my selfe, to the end thou mayst use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine. 20. 23

To my wife the 5. March 1645. *by Pooly.*

This is a true Copie examined by Edm. Prideaux. 4

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I sent to thee by *Pooly.* 33: IX *Oxford*, Wednesday 9 *April.* 1645.

Dear Heart:

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all occasions, of this (which is now the onely) way of conversing with thee, is so welcome to me as I shall be loath to loose any; but expect neither news or publick busines, from me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by my self even these nothings wil not be unwelcom to thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking Alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, & that my contentment is unseperably conjoyned with thine, must not all my Actions tend to serve and please thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead, (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of conversation, which in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of ones life, I dare say thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busie, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to busines) then* 359.8. 270.55:5:7:67:18. 294:35:69: 16:54:6:38:1: 67: 68: 9: 66: *thou may easily judge how my conversation pleaseth me.* I confesse thy company hath perhaps made me in this, hard to be pleased, but not lesse to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy letters, & dost not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, & how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto me, though thou hast no other businesse to write of? Beleeve me, sweet heart, thy kindnesse is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.

To my Wife 9 April. 1645. by *Binion.*

This is a true Copy examined by Miles Corbet. *Oxford.*

X.

Oxford Thurſday 20. March.

Deare Heart:

UPon Saturday laſt I wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I beleeve may come as ſoone to thee) and I have received thine of the ſeventh upon Munday laſt, which gave me great contentment both in preſent and expectation, (the quicke paſſage being likewiſe a welcome circumſtance) and yet I cannot but finde a fault of omiſſion in moſt of thy latter Diſpatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confeſſe, that in this no news is good news, yet I am not ſo ſatisfied without a more perfect aſſurance; & I hope thou wilt by ſatisfying me confeſſe the juſtneſſe of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God ſend me a good unlading) for I looke daily for ſome blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and Iam confidently aſſured of a conſiderable and ſudden ſupply of men from *Ireland*, likewiſe the refractory Horſe (as the *London* Rebels calls them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not knowne what fomenters they have, or whether they have none, if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howſoever I doubt not, but if they ſtand out (as it is probable) good uſe may be made of them. Of this I beleeve to give thee a perfecter account next weeke, having ſent to try their pulſes; *Petit* came yeſterday, but he having at *London* thruſt his Diſpatches into the States Ambaſſadours Paquets I have not yet received them, and I would not ſtay to lengthen this in anſwer of them, nor give thee halfe hopes of good Weſterne news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within theſe three or foure dayes; onely I congratulate with thee for the ſafe arrivall of thy Tinne-adventure at *Callis*: and ſo farewell ſweet heart.

Thine of the 10. I have newly received, whereby I finde that thou much miſtakes mee concerning *Ir.* for I deſire nothing more then a Peace there, and never forbad thy com-

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mercee there; onely I gave thee warning of some Irish in *France*, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my Wife 20. *March* 164$\frac{3}{4}$. *by* P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by Edm. Prideaux.

XI.

Droit Wiche. Wednesday 14. May.

Deare heart:

MArching takes away the conveniency of sending my Letters so safe and quicke to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I shall not faile to doe what I can to send often to thee; there is so little news for the present as I wil leave that subject for others, onely upon Saturday last I received a Dispatch from *Montrose*, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident that his Countrymen shall doe me no great harme this yeere; and if I could lend him but 500. horse, he would undertake to bring me 20000. men before the end of this Summer. For the generall state of my affaires we all here thinke to be very hopefull; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; my Sonnes such that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himselfe. Its true that I cannot brag for store of money, but a sharpe Sword alwaies hinders starving at least; and I beleeve the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their Leavies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the Field then they. I am not very confident what their Northerne Forces are, but except they are much stronger then I am made beleeve. I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my Sonne *Charles*, *which troubles me the more, that thou maist suspect. I seeke by equivocating to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is this he hath sent to desire me, That Sir* John Greenfield *may be sworne Gentleman of his Bedchamber, but already so publikely ingaged in it, that the refusall would be a great disgrace both*

to

to my Sonne and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers merits, his owne hopefulnesse, besides the great power that Family has in the West: Yet I have refused the admiting of him untill I shall heare from thee. Wherfore I desire thee first to chide my Sonne for ingaging himselfe without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thy owne consent; and lastly, to beleeve that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of my Sonnes Letter. So farewell, Sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee.

To my Wife, May 14. 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbett.

XII.

Deare Heart:

I Know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to finde my reputation, as my life in danger: therefore least the false sound of my offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe termes should disturbe thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy minde from such rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have used to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of my wayes; Then know (as a certaine truth) that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew my reall intentions to peace; *And likewise I am put in very good hope (some holds it a certainty) that if I could come to a faire Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder me from a good Peace: First, because their owne party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and Generall against Generall in point of command: Upon these grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good successe) the most probable meanes to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety, amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably councelable) the sound of my returne to* London *was thought to have so much force of popular Retorique in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if refu-*

ſed, it would bring much prejudice to them, and advantagious to me; yet leaſt fooliſh or malicious people ſhould interpret this as to proceed from feare or folly, I have joyned conditions with the Propoſition (without which this ſound will ſignifie nothing) which thou wilt finde to be moſt of the chiefe ingredients of an honourable and ſafe Peace. Then obſerve, if a Treaty at *London* with Commiſſioners for both ſides may be had without it, it is not to be uſed; nor, in caſe they will treat with no body but my Selfe, ſo that the conditions ſaves any aſpertion of diſhonour, and the Treating at *London* the malignity which our factious ſpirits here may infuſe into this Treaty upon this ſubject. This I hope will ſecure thee from the trouble which otherwiſe may be cauſed by falſe malicious rumours, and though I judg my ſelf ſecure in thy thoughts, from ſuſpecting me guilty of any baſeneſſe, yet I held this account neceſſary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy ſelfe, this certaine truth, That no danger of death or miſery (which I thinke much worſe) ſhall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the ſtate of my preſent affaires I referre thee to 92. concluding (as I did in my laſt to thee) by conjuring thee, as thou loveſt me, that no appearance of Peace (and now I adde) nor hopefull condition of mine, make thee neglect to haſte ſuccour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. *by* Tom. Elliot.

This is a true Copy, examined by Edm. Prideaux.

XIII.

Oxford, 13. March, Old-Style.

Deare Heart:

WHat I told thee the laſt weeke concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Munday laſt handſomly performed, and now if I doe any thing unhandſome or diſadvantagious to my ſelfe or friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be meerly my owne fault, for I confeſſe when I wrote laſt, I was in feare to have been preſſed to make ſome meane overtures to renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labouring to that purpoſe:) But now I promiſe thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not, without ſome eminent good ſucceſſe on my ſide) it ſhall be to*

my

my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our Mungrell Parliament here) as of the chiefe causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Sussex* within few daies taking his ourney to thee, but that, I know, thou careſt not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences, yet I muſt tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect ſtedineſſe of thy love to me, I might reaſonably apprehend that their repaire to thee would rather prove a change then an end of their villanies; and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee, was ſome cauſe of this permiſſive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of *March*, by which thou puts me in hope of aſſiſtance of men and Money, and it is no little expreſſion of thy love to me, that (becauſe of my buſineſſe) Feſtivals are troubleſome to thee, *But I ſee that Aſſemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee*, and it may be done a purpoſe to make thee weary of their companies, and excuſe me to tell thee in earneſt, that it is no wonder, that meere Stateſmen ſhould deſire to be rid of thee, therefore I deſire thee to thinke whether it would not advantage thee much to make a perſonall friendſhip with the Queen Regent, (without ſhewing any diſtruſt of her Miniſters, though not wholly truſting to them) & to ſhew her, that when her Regency comes out (and poſſibly before) ſhe may have need of her friends, ſo that ſhe ſhall but ſerve her ſelfe by helping of thee; and to ſay no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppreſſe me when it did, a late great Queene had ended more glorious then ſhe did. In the laſt place I deſire thee, to give me a weekly account of thy health, for I feare leaſt in that alone thou takeſt not care enough to expreſſe thy kindneſſe to him who is eternally thine.

The *Northerne* newes is rather better then what we firſt heard, for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montroſſes* victories, *Carlile* and the reſt of our *Northerne* Garriſons are relieved, and we hope for this year ſecured, and beſides all this, the Northern Horſe are already returned and joyned with my Nephew *Rupert*.

To my wife, 13. *March*. 164⅝.

By P. A.

This a true Copy examined by
Edm. Prideaux.

XIIII.

Daintrey, Sunday 8. *June.*

Deare Heart:

OXford being free, I hope this will come ſooner to thee then otherwiſe I could have expected, which makes me believe, that my good newes will not be very ſtale, which in ſhort is this, Since the taking of *Leiceſter* my marching downe hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raiſe their ſiege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garriſon, and loſt foure hundred men at an aſſault before *Boſtoll-Houſe*; at firſt I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but are ſince gone aſide to *Brickhill*, ſo as I believe they are weaker then they are thought to be; whether by their diſtractions, (which are certainly very great, *Fairfax* and *Browne* having been at Cudgels, and his men and *Cromwell*'s likewiſe at blowes together, where a Captain was ſlaine, or waſting their men, I will not ſay: beſides *Goring* hath given a great defeate to the Weſterne Rebels, but I doe not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much ſanguine) affirm, that (ſince this Rebellion) my affaires were never in ſo faire and hopefull a way, though among our ſelves we want not our own follies, which is needleſſe, and I am ſure tedious to tell thee, but ſuch as I am confident ſhall do no harm nor much trouble me: Yet I muſt tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz Williams*, aſſuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindneſſe, which makes me capable of taking contentment in the e good ſucceſſes; *For as divers men propoſe ſeveral recompences to themſelves for their paines and hazard in this Rebellion; ſo thy company is the onely reward I expect and wiſh for.*

To my Wife 9. *June* 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbett.

Deare

XV.

Deare Heart:

SUnday last I received three Letters from thee; one a Duplicate of the 30. *Decemb.* another of the 6. *Jan.* & the last of the 14. *Jan.* and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extreamly wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to our Cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance: But I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare suspition: And indeed, if I were to finde fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire; these three last, making no mention of thy selfe. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day,) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I send thee herewith my directions to my Commissioners, but how I came to make them my self without any others *Digby* will tell thee, with all the newes, as well concerning Military as Cabalisticall matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things, (only not answering for words) truly shew my selfe to be eternally thine.

The *Portugall* Agent hath made me two propositions, first, concerning the release of his Masters Brother, for which I shall have 50000. *l.* if I can procure his liberty from the King of *Spaine*; the other is for a marriage betwixt my Son *Charles* and his Masters eldest daughter: For the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will *give such an Answer, as shall signifie nothing.*

I desire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabrans* Relations,

nor

nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris*, the particular reasons thou shalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for my next Messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of *Jersey* and *Gernsey*, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weake at Sea.

To my wife, 30. *Jan.* 164⅝. *By* LEGGE.

This is a true Copy, examined by EDM. PRIDEAUX.

Ormond; XVI.

THe impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions; *Which I have formerly done for the concluding of a Peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my Commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English Rebels have (as far as in them lyes) given the Command of* Ireland *to the Scots; that their aime is at a totall subversion of Religion and Regall Power, and that nothing lesse will content them, or purchase peace here. I thinke my self bound in conscience, not to let slip the meanes of setling that Kingdome (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to loose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish Subjects, for such scruples as in a lesse pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me: For their satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my Protestant Subjects there may be secured, and my Regall authority preserved; But for all this you are to make me the best bargaine you can, and not discover your inlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary worke entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of* Poinings *Act for such Bils as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the Penall Laws against Papists, by a law will doe it: I shall not thinke it a hard bargaine; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my Rebels of* England *and* Scotland, *for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against Conscience or Honour.*

Copie to Ormond, 27. Febr. 164⅝.

A True Copy, Zouch Tate.

XVII

To Ormond. Oxford 16. Febr. 1644.

ORMOND, I should wrong my owne service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherston*, if I did not recommend him and his busineſſe to you; for the particulars of which I referr you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the neceſſity of the haſtening of the Iriſh Peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by me, with materials ſufficient: But in caſe (againſt all expectation and reaſon) Peace cannot be had upon thoſe termes, you muſt not by any meanes fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Ceſſation (according to a Poſtſcript in a Letter by *Jack Barry* (a copy of which Diſpatch I herewith ſend you.) So I reſt.

Poſtſcript.

In caſe upon particular mens fancies, the Iriſh Peace ſhould not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further Order (which I hope will prove needleſſe) to ſeek to renew the Ceſſation for a year, for which *you ſhall promiſe the Iriſh* (if you can have it no cheaper) *to joyn with them againſt the Scots and Inchequin*; for I hope by that time my condition may be ſuch, as the Iriſh may be glad to accept leſſe, *or I be able to grant more.*

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XVIII

To Ormond. Oxford 7. Ian. 164$\frac{5}{4}$.

ORMOND, upon the great rumours and expectations which are now of Peace, I think it neceſſary to tell you the true ſtate of it, leſt miſtaken reports from hence might trouble my affaires there.

'The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and moſt aſſuredly, one 'of the firſt and chiefe Articles they will inſiſt on, will be, to continue 'the Iriſh Warre; *which is a point not Popular for me to break on*; of 'which you are to make a double uſe: Firſt, to haſten (with all poſſi-'ble diligence) the Peace there; the timely concluſion of which will 'take off that inconvenience which otherwayes I may be ſubject to, 'by the refuſall of that Article, upon any other reaſon. Secondly, by 'dextrous conveying to the Iriſh, the danger there may be of their 'totall and perpetuall excluſion from thoſe favours I intend them, in

'case the Rebels here clap up a peace with me, upon reasonable terms,
'and only exclude them; which possibly were not councelable for me
'to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt
'us, before it were perfected there: These I hope are sufficient
'grounds for you to perswade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace
'upon reasonable termes. assuring them that you having once fully
'engaged to them my word (in the conclusion of a peace) all the earth
'shall not make me break it.

'But not doubting of a peace, I must again remember you to
'presse the Irish for their speedy assistance to me here, and their
'friends in *Scotland*: My intention being to draw from thence into
'*Wales* (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my Armed
'Protestant subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a
'body as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will put those
'Northern Counties in a brave condition; wherefore you must take
'speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, aswell Dunkeirk
'as Irish Bottomes; and remember that after March it will be most
'difficult to transport men from *Ireland* to *England*, the Rebels being
'masters of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and particular account
'in answer to this Letter, I rest

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XIX

To Ormond. 15. Decemb. 1644.

ORMOND, I am sorry to finde by Colonell *Barry* the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which *I cannot finde* so good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewise *to redresse* most necessary affaires here; wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publique Dispatch will give you sufficient Instruction and Power; yet I have thought it necessary for your more Encouragement in this necessary work to make this addition with my own hand. As for *Poinings* Act I referre you to my other Letter: and for matter of Religion, though I have not found it fit to take publique notice of the paper which

Brown

Brown gave you, yet I must command you to give him *my L. Muskery* and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their Nation in generall and they in particular shall have comfort in what they have done, *and to shew that this is more then words, I doe hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the Penall Statutes against Roman Catholiques shall not be put in execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the* Irish *gives me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to my Rights, then I will consent to the Repeale of them by a Law; but all those against Appeales to* Rome, *and Premunire must stand,* all this in Cypher you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secresie: so againe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of *Ireland*, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private letter, I rest.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XX

The Earle of Glamorgans *Instructions to me, to be presented to your Majesty.*

THat (God willing) by end of *May*, or beginning of *Iune*, he will land with 6000 *Irish*.

That the Gentlemen of the severall Counties of *Monmouth*, *Glamorgan*, *Brecknock*, and *Carmarthen*, will very speedily for your Majesties service in securing these Parts, raise and arme foure thousand men.

That the Ships which shall bring over the *Irish*, his Lordship designes to block up *Milford Haven*, at which time he doubts not to draw these *Welch* Forces into *Pembrockshiere*.

That to advance these his undertakings, he hath thirty thousand pounds ready, ten thousand Muskets, two thousand case of

Piſtols, eight hundred barrells of Powder; beſides, his own Artillery, and is aſcertained of thirty thouſand pound more which will bee ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his Ships, that divers *Hollanders* and *Dunkirkers* come in daily to him.

In Order to this ſervice, he commanded mee humbly to put your Majeſty in minde of his Commiſſion, and that hee may in fitting time have ſuch command in theſe Counties as may bee ſutable to his imployment, and conducing to the ſervice in hand: Theſe being Counties in which (if other deſignes of Landing faile) he can land in: And that your Majeſty will ſeriouſly conſider the ſervices he hath done you in compoſing the diſtractions of the County of *Monmouth:* And that you will bee pleaſed to countenance Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and graciouſly relieve the Countrey in ſuch things as without prejudicing yout ſervice may eaſe them.

Concerning the County of Monmouth *only.*

That by his Lordſhips meanes (who hath now raiſed two Regiments himſelfe;) Sir *Thomas Lunsfords* Forces will bee one thouſand eight hundred foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, which horſe is intended to bee quartred in the Forreſt of *Deane* in places of ſecure quartring, as *Langot* attempted to have been taken by Sir *Iohn Winter*, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the Forreſt, and ſecuring *Monmouth-ſhiere.*

That by his Lordſhips intervention and endeavours, your Majeſty really ſees he hath much quallified the ſence of the grievances of the County, and moderated their complaints by ſubducting the intended Petition, and therefore hopes your Majeſty will ſo ſpecially commend their humble ſute to Prince *Rupert*, as it may be ſucceſſefull.

That though the prayer of their Petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion ſet by the Parliament at *Oxford*, yet his Lordſhip hath ſo wrought, as theſe Petitioners have

have under their hands obliged themselves to continue the double payment for two Months more, and doubts not but in relation to the exigence of your Majesties service to prevaile for further time.

His humble sute is, that I may carry with me into the Countrey your Majesties Order, that the Forces of Sir *Thomas Lundsford* may not bee removed, but upon urgent occasion, untill his returne: And that only upon your Majesties or Prince *Ruperts* speciall Order, otherwise it will be a great obstruction and discouragement in raising or continuing the number proposed.

That your Majesty will be pleased in their favour, to write your Lettet to Prince *Rupert*, and that the Country may have the honour to present it, to the end, they may be eased of Free Quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unnecessary Garrisons, that *Chepstow* and *Monmouth* may be the better strengthned.

That Sir *Thomas Lundsford* may bee qualified with Authority, to protect them according to such order as the Prince shall make,

March 21. 1644.

These presented by your
Loyall Subject
Edward Bosdon.

This a true Copy.
Zouche Tate.

XXI

Colonell Fitz-William *humbly prayes and propounds as followeth.*

THat your sacred Majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his Majesty to condiscend to the just demands of his Irish subjects the Confederate Catholikes in his Majesties Kingdome of *Ireland*, at least in private.

That upon the consideration thereof Colonell *Fitz-William* humbly propounds and undergoeth (with the approbation of

Mr *Hardegan* now employed Agent for the ſayd Confederate Catholikes in *France*) to bring an Army of ten thouſand men and more of his Majeſties ſubjects in his kingdom of *Ireland*, for his Majeſties ſervice, into *England*.

That Colonell *Fitz-william* undertakes for the ſumme of ten thouſand pound ſterl. to leavy, ſhip, and arm, the ſaid ten thouſand men, and ſo proportionably for more or leſſe; and that the ſaid money may be put into ſuch hands as may be ſafe for his Majeſty, as well as ready for the Colonell when it ſhal appear the ſaid Army ſhall be in a readineſſe to be tranſported into *England*.

That upon the landing the ſaid men, there ſhall be advanced to the Colonell one months pay for all the Army, according to the Muſter, for the preſent ſupport of the Army.

That Colonell *Fitz William* may bee Commander in Chiefe thereof, and diſpoſe of all the Officers, and onely be commanded by his Majeſty, his Highneſſe the Prince of *Wales*, and Prince *Rupert*, and qualified with ſuch Commiſſions as hath been formerly granted to his Majeſties Generalls, that have Commanded bodies apart from his Majeſties own Army, as the Marquiſſe of *Newcaſtle*, the Earle of *Kingſtone*, and others, hereby the better to enable him in the Leavies as well as in the generall conduct of the buſineſſe; and that in reſpect the Parliament gives no quarter to his Majeſties *Iriſh* Subjects, therefore that the ſaid Forces ſhall not by any Order whatſoſover be devided.

That the Colonell may be ſupplyed with a body of horſe, of at leaſt two thouſand, to be ready at the place of landing.

That the Colonell may be provided with Amunition and Artillery, or with money requiſite for himſelfe to provide neceſſary proportions for to bring with him.

That the Army ſhall be paid as other Armies of his Majeſties.

Having taken theſe Propoſitions into conſideration, We have thought fit to teſtifie our approbation and agreement thereunto under our ſigne Manuall aſſuring what hath been deſired of us therein, ſhall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting to the ſatisfaction of the Confederate *Catholikes* of his Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to the ſaid Colonell

nell *Fitz-William*, so that wee may justly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly from all parties in these severall concernments.

This is a true Copy of the Originall sent by her Majesty to the King, *May* 16. 1645.

A: Lowly, Secretary to the right Honourable the Lord *Iermine*.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate*.

XXII

To my Wife, 14. Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$. by *Choquen*.

Deare Heart,

Pooly came the $\frac{14}{15}$. Jan. to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his Discourse.

As I confesse it a mis-fortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their affections were so reall, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending, wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired, that every one should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not beleeve that any can think it though he say it: And for my affection to thee, it will not bee the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their wearinesse of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposall of thy journey

to

to *Ireland*, a pretty instance? For seriously of it selfe, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving eare to it, being most assuredly only to expresse thy love to me, and not thy judgement in my affaires: As for the businesse it selfe, (I meane the peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it: I have sent thee the last dispatches, I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy selfe, only thou maist in generall let the *Q. Regent* and Ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish Subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really beleeve. But for Gods sake, let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugall Agent (and little to the French) it being by his meanes that I have sent thee all my Letters, (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

'I will not trouble thee with repetitions of Newes, *Digbies* 'dispatch which I have seene being so full, that I can adde no-'thing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which 'he calls his superstitious observation: It is this, nothing can be 'more evident, then that *Straffords* innocent blood hath beene 'one of the great causes of Gods just judgements upon this Na-'tion by a furious civill warre, both sides hitherto being almost 'equally punished as being in a manner equally guilty; but now 'this last crying blood, being totally theirs; I beleeve it is no pre-'sumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be hea-'vier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our 'Cause, having passed by our faults.

This is a true Copy examined
by *Edmund Prideaux*.

XXIII. Copy to the *D.* of *R.*

Richmond, I thank you for the accompt you sent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to *West.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or there abouts, and that you mention the security I aske with my comming to West. And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this Bearer will tell you how well our Westerne and Northerne Associations goes on to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XXIV. *Oxford* Feb. 1644. Memorialls for Secretary *Nicholas* concerning the Treaty at *Vxbridge.*

First for Religion and Church government I will not goe one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the *Militia* more then what ye have allowed by me, but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full halfe; as if the totall number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteene; yet if they (I meane the English Rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hide.*

This is a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XXV. Directions for my *Vxbridge* Commissioners.

First concerning Religion.

IN this the governement of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chiefe question wherein two things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the first, I must declare unto you that

I cannot yeeld to the change of the government by Bishops; not only as I fully concurre with the most generall opinion of Christians in all ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold my selfe particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure sacriledge, and likewise contrary to my Coronation Oath but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to heare, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto: For the second, as the Kings duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King, in the maintenance of his just authority; wherefore my Predecessors have been alwayes carefull (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crowne; without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the Kings head; therefore you must doe nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the *Militia*.

After conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a Kings Quarrell; for without it the Kingly power is but a shaddow; and therefore upon no meanes to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient knowne lawes of the Land: (yet because to attaine to this so much wished peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary that sufficient and reall security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you either by leaving strong Townes or other *Military* force into the Rebels possession (untill Articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace: provided alwayes that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me: *And to make sure that the peace once setled, all things shall returne into their ancient Channels.*

Thirdly for *Ireland*.

I confesse, they have very specious popular Arguments to presse this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends then this: And I have as much reason both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any: all the world knows

knowes the eminent inevitable neceſſity which cauſed me to make the Iriſh Ceſſation, and there remaine yet as ſtrong reaſon for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye muſt conſent to nothing to hinder me therein, untill a clear way be ſhowne me how my Proteſtant ſubjects there may probably (at leaſt) defend themſelves; and that I ſhall have no more need to defend my conſcience and Crowne from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

At Vxbridge *on Wedneſday the* 29. *of Iannarie,* 1644. *the Proteſtation under written was unanimouſly conſented unto, and taken by all his Majeſties Commiſsioners appoynted to treat there, toucheing a well-grounded peace.*

XXVI.

I *A. B.* being one of the Commiſſioners aſſigned by his Majeſty for this preſent Treaty at Vxbridge, doe Proteſt and promiſe in the ſight of Almighty God, that I will not diſcloſe nor reveale unto any perſon or perſons whatſoever (who is not a Commiſſioner) any matter or thing that ſhall be ſpoken of during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majeſties Commiſſioners in any private debate amongſt our ſelves, concerning the ſaid Treaty; ſo as to name or deſcribe directly or indirectly the perſon or perſons that ſhall ſpeak any ſuch matter or thing, unleſſe it be by the conſent of all the ſaid Commiſſioners that ſhall be then living.

Memorandum, *That it is by all the ſaid Commiſſioners agreed that this ſhall not binde where any ten of the Commiſſioners ſhall agree to certifie his Majeſty the number of Aſſenters or Diſſenters, upon any particular reſult, in this Treaty, not naming or deſcribing the perſons.*

This is a true Coppy, examined by

Zouch Tate.

XXVII. *The* Q. *to the* K. *from Yorke*, March 30. 1644. *Also April.*

MY deare heart; I need not tell you from whence this bearer comes; onely I will tell you, that the Propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I beleeve that it is not yet time to put them into execution: therefore finde some meanes to send them back, which may not discontent them (and doe not tell who gave you this advise. Sr. *Hugh Cholmely* is come with a Troop of horse to kisse my hands: the rest of his people he left at *Scarborrough*, with a ship laden with Arms, which the ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is ours; the Rebells have quitted *Tadcaster* upon our sending forces to *Whetherby*, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: we send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at *Whetherby* are sufficient, but we feare lest they have all their forces there about, and lest they have some designe; for they have quitted *Selby* and *Cawood*, the last of which they have burnt: Between this and to morow night we shall know the issue of this businesse; and I will send you an expresse: I am more carefull to advertise you of what we doe, that you and we may finde meanes to have passe-ports, to send: and I wonder that upon the Cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety: this shewes my love: I understand to day from *London*, that they will have no Cessation, and that they Treat at the beginning of the two first Articles, which is of the Forts, Ships, and Ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the Army: certainly, I wish a peace more then any, and that with greater reason: But I would the disbanding of the perpetuall Parliament, first: and certainly, the rest will be easily afterwards: I doe not say this of my owne head alone: for generally both those who are for you and against you in this Countrey, wish an end of it; and I am certaine, that if you doe demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, *Hull* is ours, and all *Yorkeshire*, which is a thing to consider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetuall Parliament, I am absolutely resolved to goe into *France*, not being willing to fall againe into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remaine with them, that it will not be well for me in *England*; remember what I have written to you

in

n three precedent Letters, and be more carefull of me then you nave beene, or at the leaſt diſſemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: the man haſtens me, ſo that I can ſay no more.

Yorke this 30. *of* March.

XXVIII.

THis Letter ſhould have gone by a man of Maſter *Denedſdale*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this ſubject: and therefore by this man it ſignifies nothing but the end was ſo pleaſing, that I doe not for beare to ſend it to you: You now know by *Elliot* the iſſue of the buſineſſe of *Todcaſter*, ſince we had almoſt loſt *Scarborough*, whilſt *Cholmly* was here, *Browne Buſhell* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: but *Cholmley* having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath re-taken it; and hath deſired to have a Lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it; for which we ſhould take his; he hath alſo taken two Pinaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44. men to put within *Scarborough*, 10. Peeces of Canon, 4. Barrels of Powder, 4 of Bullet. This is all our newes; our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfaxes* Excellency. And I will make an end of this Letter, this third of *April*. I have had no newes of you ſince *Parſons*.

A true Coppy.

P. W.

30. *March.* 3. *April.*

XXIX.

The Queen to the King from *Bath. April.* 21. 1644.

MY deare heart, *Fred. Cornwallis* will have told you all our voyage as farre as *Adburie*, and the ſtate of my health: ſince my comming hither, I finde my ſelfe ſo ill, as well in the ill reſt that I have, as in the encreaſe of my Rhume.

I hope that this dayes reſt will doe mee good: I go to morrow to *Briſtoll*, to ſend you back the Carts; many of them are already returned; My Lord *Dillon* told me, *not directly from you, though*

he sayes you approve it ; that it was fit I should write a Letter to the Commissioners of Ireland to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their Paper, and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition then you are now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not doe it without your command ; therefore if it please you that I should doe so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not doe more then what you appoynt : And also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise : for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I beleeve also, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the rest will be enough ; for the Letter which I shall write to him shall be with my owne hand : and if it be to all your Commissioners, it shall be by the Secretary. Farewell my deare heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely

Yours.

A true Coppy.

Zouch Tate.

XXX. The *Q.* to the *K.* from *Paris.*

Ianuary 164¾.

Paris, Ianuary, I have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer : I will say nothing concerning this but only concerning the affair of (*Gor.*) If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at *London* ; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour ; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold ; and if it fall out otherwise, *that you doe not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need.* Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a Regiment of Guard ; for my self I think I cannot be, *seeing the malice wch they have against me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both* ; but in my opinion Religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat ; *For if you doe agree upon strictnesse against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you : and if afterwards*

there

there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your selfe. I have dispatched an expresse into *Scotland*, to *Mountrosse*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of *Lorrain* and into *Holl.* I lose no time: if I had more of your newes, all would goe better. Adieu my dear heart.

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

My Wife $\frac{6}{17}$ *Decem. Ian.* $164\frac{5}{4}$.

XXXI. The Q. to the *K. Paris*, Ian. 27. $164\frac{5}{4}$.
Also March 13.

Paris January; $\frac{10}{27}$ my deare heart, *Tom. Eliot* two dayes since hath brought me much joy, and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, the fear I have that you goe to *London.* I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsell, unlesse it be to hazzard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of *Portugall* dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Uxbridge*: For the honour of God trust not your selfe in the hands of these people. And if you ever goe to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. *I understand that the Propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost,* they having the whole power of the *Militia*, they have done and will doe whatsoever you will. *I received yesterday Letters from the Duke of Lorraine, who sends me word if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men:* Dr. *Goffe* whom I have sent into *Holland* shall treat with him in his passage upon this businesse; and I hope very speedily to send good newes of this, as also of the money. Assure your selfe I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazzard my life, that is, to dye by famine, rather then not to send to you: send me word alwayes by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassadour of *Portugall* and the resident of *France.* Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholicks. *Adieu,* You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to doe it; yet my self in cyphers shew to

my

my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him; I know not how to send great Packets.

My wife, $\frac{27}{17}$, *Ian.* 1664$\frac{5}{4}$ A true Coppy, *Zouche Tate.*

XXXII.

Paris this 13 of March, My Dear heart, since my last, I have received one of your Letters marked 16. by which you signifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little surprized me, seeming to me that you write as if I had in my Letter something which had displeased you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all: there is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my self your dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, only to Lord *Ier.* to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it my selfe: but if it please you I will doe it, and none in the world shall see them; be kinde to me or you kill me: I have already affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not doe, but your service surmounts all: farewell my deare heart; behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest ✠, and I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning *Iack Barkly* for Master of the Wards; I am not ingaged nor will not be for the places of *L. Per.* and others, doe you accordingly.

13 *March* 1644.

The

XXXIII.

Newarke the 27. of Iune.

MY deare heart, I received juſt now your letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found me ready to goe away, ſtaying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon 2. dayes ſtopp, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincolne*, young *Hotham* having bin put in priſon by order of Parliament, is eſcaped: and hath ſent to 260. that he would caſt himſelfe into his armes, and that *Hull* and *Lincolne* ſhould be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260. writes for your anſwer, ſo that I thinke I ſhall goe hence Fryday or Satturday, and ſhall goe lye at *Werton*, and from thence to *Aſhby*, where we will reſolve what way to take, and I will ſtay there a day, becauſe that the march of the day before, will have bin ſomewhat great, and alſo to know how the Enemy marches: all their forces of *Nottingham*, at preſent being gone to *Leiceſter*, and *Darby*, which makes us beleeve, that it is to intercept our paſſage, aſſoon as we have reſolved, I will ſend you word: at this preſent I think it fitt to let you know the ſtate in which we march, and what I leave behind mee for the ſafety of *Lincolneſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*: I leave 2000. foote, and wherewithall to arme 500. more, 20. Companyes of Horſe, all this to be under *Charles Cavendiſh*, whom the Gentlemen of the Country have deſired me not to carry with me, againſt his will, for hee deſired extreamely to goe, The Enemies have left within Nottingham 1000. I carry with me 3000. Foote, 30. Companyes of Horſe and Dragoones, 6. peeces of Cannon, and 2. Morters, *Harry Germyn* commands the forces which goe with mee, as Colonell of my Guarde, and Sr. *Alexander Leſley* the foote under him, and *Gerard* the Horſe, and *Robin Legg* the Artillery, and her ſhee Majeſtie Generaliſſima, and extreamely diligent, with a 150. wagans of Baggage to governe, in caſe of Battell, have a care that no Troupe of Eſſex his Army incommodate us, for I hope that for the reſt wee ſhall be ſtrong enough, for at *Nottingham* we have had the experience, one of our Troupes having beaten 6. of theirs, and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wiſh had not bin made, being extreamly diſadvantagious for you, for you ſhew too much fear, and do not what you had reſolved upon. Farewell my deare heart.

The Queen to the King, 27. June, 1643.

XXXIV.

CHARLES Rex,

IT is not unknowne both to the French King and his Mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen betweene my wife and Mee, which hitherto I have borne with great patience, (as all the world knowes) ever expecting and hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill craftie counsells of her servants, for advanceing of their owne ends, rather then her owne inclination: for at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not exspect more Testimonies of respect and love, then shee shewed, as to give one instance, her first suite to mee was, that shee being young, and comeing to a strange Countrey, both by her yeares and ignorance of the customes of the place, might commit many errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my instructions learned her to eschew them, and desired mee in these cases to use no third person, but to tell her my selfe, when I found shee did any thing amisse, I both granted her request, and thanked her for it, but desired that shee would use mee, as shee had desired mee to use her, which shee willingly promised mee, which promise shee never kept, for a little after this, Madam St. George taking a distast because I would not let her ride with us in the Coach, when there was VVoemen of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we thinke a strange thing) sett my wife in such an humor of distaste against mee, as from that very houre to this, no man can say that ever shee used mee two dayes together, with so much respect as I deserved of her, but by the contrary, has put so many disrespects on mee, as it were too long to set downe all, some I will relate: As I take it, it was at her first comming to Hampton Court, I sent some of my Councell to her, with these Orders that were kept in the Queen my Mothers house, desireing shee would command the Counte of Tilliers, that the same might be kept in hers, her answer was, shee hoped that I would give her leave to order her house as shee list her selfe, (Now if shee had said that shee would speake with mee, not doubting to give mee satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatsoever shee would have said of this to my selfe, for I could only impute it to ignorance, but I could not imagine that shee affronted me so, as to refuse mee in such a thing publickly) after I heard this answer; I tooke a time (when I thought wee had both best leasure to dispute it) to tell her calmely both her fault in the publike denyall, as her mistakeing of the businesse it

selfe,

selfe, shee instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave mee so ill an answer that I omitt, not to be tedious, the relation of that discourse, having to much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the paines to set downe, as her eschewing to be in my company, when I have any thing to speak to her, I must meanes her servant first, else I am sure to be denied, her neglect of the English Tongue, and of the Nation in generall, I will also omit the affront she did mee, before my going to this last unhappy assembly of Parliament, because there has been talke enough of that already, &c. the author of it is before you in France, to be short, omitting all other passages, comming only to that which is most recent in memorie: I having made a commission to make my wifes Joyncture &c. to assigne her those lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripenesse that it wanted but my consent to the particulars they had chosen: shee takeing notice that it was now time to name the Officers for her Revenue, one night when I was a bed, put a paper in my hand, telling mee it was a list of those that shee desired to be of her revenue, I tooke it, and said I would read it next morning, but withall told her, that by agreement in France I had the nameing of them, she said, there were both English and French in the note, I replyed, that those English I thought fitt to serve her, I would confirme, but for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature, then shee said, all those in the paper had brevetts from her Mother, and her selfe, and that she could admit no other: Then I said it was neither in her Mothers power, nor Hers, to admit any without my leave, & that if she stood upon that, whomsoever shee recommended, should not come in; then shee badd me plainely take my lands to my selfe, for if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, shee would have neither Lands nor House of me, but bad me give her what I thought fitt in pension; I bad her then remember to whom shee spake, and told her, that shee ought not to use mee so, then she fell into a passionate discourse, how shee is miserable, in having no power to place servants, and that businesses succeeded the worse for her recommendation, which when I offered to answer, shee would not so much as heare mee; Then shee went on, saying, she was not of that base quality to be used so ill, then I made her both hear mee, and end that discourse. Thus having had so long patience, with the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest contentments I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humors, to be about my wife any longer, which I must doe if it were but for one action they made my wife doe, which is, to make

 her

her goe to Tiburn in devotion, to pray, which action can have no greater invective made against it, then the relation. There ore you shal tell my Brother the French King, as likewise his Mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfyed with it, especially since he hath done the like himselfe, not staying while he had so much reason: And being an action that some may interpret to be of harshnesse to his Nation, I thought good to give him an accompt of it, because that in all things I would preserve the good correspondency and Brotherly affection that is between us.

His Majestyes instructions given mee at Wansteede, the 12th. of July, 1626. signed 24.

A true Copie, Zouch. Tate.

XXXV.

Oxford Ian: $164\frac{5}{4}$.

DEare heart, *I receive it as a good Augure thus to begin this new yeere, having newly received thine of the* 30. *Decemb. which I cannot stay to decipher, for not loosing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short accompt: This day I have dispatched* Digbies *Sec: fully relating the State of our affairs, therefore I shall onely now tell thee, that the Rebells are ingaged into an equall treat, without any of those disadvantages which might have beene apprehended when* Tom. Elliot *went hence, and that the distractions of* London *were never so greate, or so likely to bring good effect as now lastly that assistance was never more needfull, never so likely as now to doe good to him who is eternally thine.*

Copie to my wife, 1. Jan. 1644. by *P. A.*

This is a true Copie examined by *Miles Corbett.*

XXXVI.

Oxford, thursday 24. Aprill.

HArry *lest my wife should not yet be fit for any busines, I write this to you; not to excuse my paines but ease hers, and that shee may know but not be troubled with my kindnes, I referr to your discretion, how far to impart my letter to her or any other busines, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affaires: And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to* Digbie's *sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault with*

with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if hee should strictly tye himselfe to certaine truths in this kinde you must have nothing from him but my Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended houses, but tell me can you not distinguish betweene what wee send you upon certaintie and what upon uncertaine reports without making an oath the marke of distinction, and are you obliged to publish all the newes wee send you: seriously I thinke newes may be some times too good to be tolde in the French Courte: and certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of newes, as in matters which at first sight, may seeme of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them thinke that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain soe I would not have them beleeve that I needed noe helpe, lest they should underhand assist any Rebells to keepe the ballance of dissention amongst us equall.

For matter of newes and present State of my affaires I referre you to Digby *only this in generall that if it shall please God to assist us this yeare but halfe soe miraculously as hee did the last (my present State compared with what it was this time twelve month) I am very hopefull to see a joyfull harvest before next Winter; nor do I thinke this in any humane probability, possible; except my wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to dispaire, your last giving mee good hope, concerning Loraine, and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an Author as* 196. *yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when* 149. *in hers the* 10. *of March, saies,* jay une Affaire assures que vous donnere 40000 Pistols que Je vous eussi envoyé si J'eussi lu mon navir revenu avec l'estain.

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which is to give me a continuall accompt, what letters shee receives from mee and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37. *and likewise I now begin the same with you: soe farewell.*

In your next let me know particularly how my wife is which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder mee to imagine her worse then she is, if well then every word will please mee. I have Commanded Digby *to write to you freely concerning* VVill Murry, *which I hold to be necessary as concerning* Muntrosse *busines.*

To the L. *Jermin* 24. Aprill, 1645. concerning France.

A true Coppie, *Zoushe Tate.*

XXXVII.

DEare heart, Since my last by Shoquen I have had no meanes of writing, and as little new matter: that which is now, is the Progresse of the treaty, of which these enclosed papers will give thee a full accompt: but if thou have them sooner from London *then mee, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way, I am forced to send by, in respect of the other: for the businesse it selfe, I believe thou wilt approve of my choise of Treaters, and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last: Wherefore I need to say nothing of them, and for my instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them: Now upon the whole matter I desire thee to show the Q. and Ministers there, the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebells propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, untill they be out of hope to prevaile by force, which a little assistance, by thy meanes, will soone make them so; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable some of money would doe) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our* interferings here at Oxford *I desire thee to suspend thy judgment, (for I beleeve fowle but partiall relations will come to thee) untill I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to us both to set them down in Paper.*

Copie to my wife. 22. *Ian.* 1644.
This is a true Coppy examined by *Miles Corbett.*

XXXVIII.

DEare heart, I never till now knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storme, before I had certaine assurance of thy happy escape; wee having had a pleasing false reporte, of thy safe landing at *Newcastle* which thine of the 19. *Ian.* so confirmed us in, that wee, at least were not undeceived of that hope, till wee knew certainely how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, untill I may have the happines of thy Company, for indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to mee that I confesse it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can doe, much lesse by words; but my heart being full

full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say some thing, leaving the rest to bee read by thee, out of thine owne noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 *Feb.* has bred great discourse in severall persons, and of severall kinds as my saying I was persecuted for places, is applied to all and only those that I there name to bee Sutors whereas the truth is: I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time, I had not time to name as well as some there mentioned, for I confesse 174. and 133. are not guilty of that fault, some finds fault as too much kindnesse to thee (thou may easily voate from what constellation that comes) but I assure such that I want expression, not will, to doe it tenn times more to thee on all occasions, others presse mee as being brought upon the Stage, but I answer that having profest to have thy advice it were a wrong to thee to doe any thing before I had it. As for our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it, for all the Souldiers are wel pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of Arms, for the lower house will have none without a disbanding and I will not disband till all bee agreed, lastly for our Military affaires, I thank God that here and in the West they prosper well as for the North I referre thee to 226. 140. information so dayly expecting and praying for good news from thee. &c.

Copie to my Wife, 13. Feb. 1643.

Oxford 13. *Feb.* 1643.

a true Copie

Zouche Tate.

XXXIX.

Instructions to Colonell Cookran *to be pursued in his negotiation to the King of* Denmarke.

YOu are to informe the King of Denmarke, that by his Majesties command, as to the neareſt Allye of his Crowne, his Vncle, and whom he beleeves will not be unconcerned in his affaires, as well in Interests as affection, you are sent to give a particular accompt of the State of his Majesties affairs, to renew the ancient League and Amitie that hath been between the two Kingdomes, and Families Royall, and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be usefull to the present

preſent affaires of England, and all occurrences in the future of thoſe of Denmarke.

That the preſent affair of your negotiation, is to demand an aſſiſtance from his Matie. ſuch a one as the preſent State of the affaires of England requires, againſt a dangerous combination of his Maties ſubjects, who have not only invaded his Matie in his particular rites, but have laid a deſigne to diſſolve the Monarchie and frame of Government, under pretences of Libertie and Religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the Monarchies of Chriſtendome to be looked upon with ſucceſſe in their deſigne.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been ſuch as hath not admitted any forraigne treaty to be intereſſed in ſuppreſſing their deſigne, without giving them advantage of ſcandalling his Maties intentions, and drawing away Vniverſally the hearts of his people, whom they had inſinuated under pretence of reformation of particular abuſes of Government, and Miniſters of Eſtate, to concurre generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous conſequence and deſigne were viſible to his Matie) a preſent complyance was neceſſary leaſt any publique oppoſition on his Maties part, that might ſeeme to defeate the greate expectations which they had raiſed in the Commons in thoſe plauſible particulars might have occaſioned a generall revolte, throughout the Kingdomes, great jealouſies being diſperſed and fomented amongſt them of his Maties forraigne treaties and force, to be uſed to oppoſe and ſuppreſſe thoſe their deſires and the moovers therein.

Vpon the credit they had herewith built on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to diſſolve the Government of the Church, according to its conſtitution in England a chiefe columne and ſupport to that Monarchy and Crowne.

They laſtly invaded his Matie in all the Prerogatives of his Crowne, and under pretence of ill Miniſters and Councellours of Eſtate, whom they pretended to remoove endeavoured to inveſt in themſelves in all times for the future the Domination of all Miniſtries of Eſtate, and of his Maties family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands, and to confirme themſelves in an abſolute power of diſpoſing his eſtate, entred upon poſſeſſing themſelves of the Militia of the Kingdome, his Navy and Magazins, in which his Matie. being forced to appeare in oppoſition, dangerous tumults were raiſed againſt him, ſo that hee was forced to forſake London, for preſervation of his Perſon, his Queene and Children.

That

That since for the safety of the Queen he hath been forced to send her into *Holland*, to retire himselfe to the best affected party of his Subjects, from whence by declarations setting forth the sinister proceedings of that faction, discovering their designes of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other faction still keeping up some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they finde themselves begin to make head against him, have appointed a General, and are leavying Forces to maintaine their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence and rebellion.

That his Majestie having great encouragements given him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to him, is already advanced neere them with 6000. Horse, and 10000. Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condescended to give her Majestie the Queen a convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her returne into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon his Majesties personall appearance, have declared for him, so that his affaires at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his neighbour Princes and Allies, will not looke upon so dangerous a precedent to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppresse this so pernitious a designe, begun within his Kingdom.

That to give his Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to his own interest, of their successe. It hath been by them publikely moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the *Dutch* and to set out a Fleete, to take away his Customes of the Sound.

That they have since imputed to his Mtie. as a ground to scandal him with his people, that he did negotiate, the introducing by his Uncle the King of *Denmarke* a forraigne power to settle his affaires, and under that pretext have given large Commission, and particular instructions to the Fleete, to visite, search, and intercept all such *Danish* ships, as they should meete, and to fight with, sinke or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detaine them, having any Armes or Ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the *Norway* trade driven commonly in this Kingdome, in their owne bottomes: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation being bound for the *West-Indies*, and put in by stresse of weather in the West of *England*.

That in pursuance of their great designe of extirpating the Royall bloud, and Monarchie of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his royall family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretentions of the whole Race, which their most detestable and scandalous designe they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which as his sacred Majestie of *England* in the true sence of honor of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy memory, and by whom so neare an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majestie doth desire his assistance, are, in the loane, and raising of men, money, armes, and Ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affaires: And of such in the first place as may be most requisite and a wanting to his Majesty.

That to set his leavies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his subjects in all places that adheare to him, and receive their contribution; 100000. li. will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loane. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word, and solemne engagement upon this treaty, he is contented of such his Crowne Jewels as are in his dispossure, to leave his royal pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of Armes that he desires, are 6000. Musquets, 1500. Horse-armes, and 20. pieces of field Artillery mounted.

Assistance of men, he desires onely in Horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Iland, or New-Castle are designed for the landing of the said Horse, and Magazin of the said provisions, for reception likewise, and protection of such his Ships as he shall thinke fit to employ for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade upon these Coasts; and for ascertaining the correspondence, and intelligence between the two Kingdomes; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his owne affaires. And for which the Holy Iland is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in his Majesties Dominions, being capeable of any Ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent roade at the entrance, a ready out lett, and a strong fort under his Majesties command.

That in Lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of *Denmarke*, his Majestie will obliege himselfe, and ratifie in expresse articles to restore into the Magazines of *Denmarke*, a like proportion of armes and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the [illegible] leavies of Horse, and so soon as his affaires shall be settled, [illegible] in a condition to

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doe it upon all occasions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his right and Title to the Customes of the Sound, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a league offensive and defensive, against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be severally perfected, his Majestie doth expect this first supply of moneys, and armes, present affaires, not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the King of *Denmark* will lend money upon Jewells, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearle, that may be sent to him or delivered to his Agent here: Who may have order to pay the money here: or any other Jewells.

That there have beene in Discourses, severall Propositions of Accomodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on his part, then in reason could have beene expected from him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that wheras his Majesty doth understand, that a Person is addressed to the K. of *Denmarke* from his Parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroade with his Majesties Allies, as they have done at home among his People, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remaine within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spye upon the Treaty and Negotiations betweene their Majestyes, but that he be dismist and sent away so soone as ever he shall arrive.

Note this Paper concerning Cockram *was not intercepted amongst the Kings Letters, but is otherwise attested.*

ANNOTATIONS.

Much use may be now made of these precedent Papers, & many things therein will appear very worthy of our Notice. For,

1. It is plaine, here, first, that the Kings Counsels are wholly managed by the Queen; though she be of the weaker sexe, borne an Alien, bred up in a contrary Religion, yet nothing great or small is transacted without her privity & consent. See *Pap.* 38. If the Prince make suite to bestow a place in his own Bedchamber upon a Gentleman of extraordinary merit. The King cannot grant it, to save his Sons reputation, already ingaged by promise, till He hath sent into *France*, and beg'd the Queens consent. *See pap.* 11.

2. The Queens Counsels are as powerfull as commands. The King professes to preferre her health before the exigence, and importance of his owne publick affaires. *See pap.* 14, &c.

He avows constancy to her grounds and documents, *See pap.5,&c.*

3. The Queen appeares to have been as harsh, and imperious towards the King, *pap.* 34. as she is implacable to our Religion, Nation, and Government. She doth the offices of a Resident in *France*, to procure imbargoes of our Ships, to rayse forreigne Forces against us, and in this she is restlesse to the neglect of her owne health, She vowes to die by famine, rather then to faile the King in such like negotiations, *See pap.* She confines not her agency to *France*, but sollicits *Lorrain* for Men, the Prince of *Orange* for Shipping. She sends Armes for *Scotland* to *Montros*, speeds Colonell *Fitz Williams* his Commission for *Ireland*, *pap* 20.21. The Counsels also in *England* which she gives the King are of very pernitious consequence, thereby the Parliament must be disbanded, *pap.* 27. Treaties must be suspected, great care must be had in them of Her, and Her Religion, *pap.*30. Bishops and Catholicks must be specially provided for, *pap.*31. The King must be forwarned, that He cannot be safe longer, then he defends all that have served Him, *pap.*31. That peace cannot be safe to Him without a Regiment for his Guard (*ala mode de France. pap.*30. She interposes so in the businesse of *Ireland*, that the King is not seene therein, nor oblieged to any thing immediately, *pap.*29.

4. The King doth yet in many things surpasse the Queene for acts of hostility, and covering them over with deeper and darker secrecy. He imployes Collonell *Cockrayn* to sollicite the King of *Denmarke*, making not onely Papists our enemies for religions sake, but all Princes though Protestants for Monarchies sake, rather then faile of ayde from thence, He stirres rumours about his Mothers chastity, He promises to disobliege the Hollander in the busines of the Sound; He pawnes the Jewels of the Crowne, *pap.*39. He presses the Queen beyond her own fiery propension, urges her to make personall Friendship with the Queen Regent, furnishes her with dextrous policies, and arguments to worke upon the Ministers of State

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in *France*. Of his owne accord, without intreaty He proposes to the Queene the taking away all penall Statutes against Recusants in *England*. Tis true, He doth all by way of bargaine for his owne particular advantage: but the Papists conditions are better then ours, in regard that the Queen her self is trusted with that merchandise, *pap.* 8. He prostitutes his pardon and grace to the Irish Rebels, importuning *Ormonde*, to use importunity to them, that they will accept of indemnity, and free use of Popery, and desires nothing in lieu thereof, but that they will transport fixe thousand men into *England*, and some other supplies into *Scotland*. For this purpose He sends Posts after Posts, and hastens the businesse the rather because being in Treaty with the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, about prosecution of the Irish, He may be prevented therein, and preingaged not to consent, *See pap.* 16. 17, 18, 19. He onely excepts against Appeales to *Rome*, and Premunires. All other things He thinkes cheape enough for the Irish. He must not now stand upon scruples (tis his owne word) all things not disagreeable to conscience and Honor are to be admitted, & so to grant free exercise of idolatry, though abjurd formerly, to the most odious, flagitious murderers in the world, is but a scruple not disagreeable either to conscience or honour. To bargaine away our Acts of Parliament by such clandestine ingagements, as passe onely by papers, and dare not looke upon the light, especially such Acts as concerne our greatest interrests, even those of Religion, supposes us to be slaves of the basest aloye: and tis strange that the Irish and Papists should at all rest upon the strength of such assurances, when they see Records and Parliament Rolls are of no vertue at all, either to the English, or Protestants, *See pap.* 16. 17, 18, 19. He calls us a Parliament publikely, yet acknowledges us not a Parliament secretly, He suppresses still his not acknowledgement, onely He enters it in the Councell Book at *Oxford*, and so though it be smother'd to us, whom it most concernes, yet tis registred for our enemies use, upon all occasions of advantage. This favour

we found from the Councell at *Oxford*, that the Name, though not the Thing, should be imparted to us: but even this was not willingly and freely allowed by the King, had but two of his Advisers sided with him, all the rest should have ballanced nothing at all in this case. This is a signe they sit there to great purpose, for though they are more worthy to be consulted with then Parliaments: yet their votes are but indifferent things, meere formalities, especially if there be any dissent at all amongst them, *See pap.* 5. He in shew seekes Treaties, and wins upon the People by that shew, yet chuseth such Commissioners, and bindes them up with such instructions, that all accommodation is impossible. His aime is to winne upon our Commissioners, and for this purpose gives authority to propose rewards and other allurements, *pap.* 24. gives avisoes to *Caiole* the Scots and Independents; as to the Duke of *Richmond*, *pap.* 23. presses for forraigne Auxiliaries the more eagerly, *pap.* 12. 35. hopes to cast the odium of the breaking of the Treaty upon our side, *pap.* 1. 7, 12, 15, 25, 37. He seems more zealous for Bishops and Papists (cal'd his, and the Queens friends) then the Queene her selfe, and therefore assures her of his resolution therein, without any request of hers, *pap.* 7. He doth not thinke fit to treat with the Rebels, onely by the Interposition of the Queen or of *Ormonde*, but he sends particular thankes to *Browne*, *Muskery*, *Plunket*, *pap.* 19. He pretends sometimes to have the hearts of the major and better part of his Protestant subjects firm to him in this cause, yet trusts none but Papists, and therefore is advised by the Queene, *pap.* 31. by no meanes to disband for this reason, because all the Militia is generally in the Parliaments hands. We see what opinion the King hath of *Wilmot*, *Percy*, *Sussex*. We see what opinion he hath of the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, who have descerted their trust here, out of confidence in him: the 13. *paper* here tells us plainely what use the King makes of them.

The King will declare nothing in favour of his Parliament, so long as he can finde a party to maitaine him in this opposition

tion; nor performe any thing which he hath declared, so long as he can finde a sufficient party to excuse him from it.

And indeede it is a sad consideration to thinke what unhappy use the King hath ever made of the obedience, and patient loyalty of this Nation; finding alwaies that he might without any oppositon or danger at least deny their just liberties, laws, and the very use of Parliaments; or if some urgency, or his own necessities, or advantages had caused him to call a Parliament he might afterwards with as little opposition, deny whatsoever he granted under his owne hand; as the Petition of Right obtained with some difficulty, and broken immediately after without any scruple may sufficiently testifie. The Pacification with *Scotland* was not assented to, until the *English* people shewed some averseness to that wicked warre; and were loath any longer to fight for their owne slavery, nor was that Pacification any longer kept; then till a Party strong enough was found to maintaine the breach of it. But without other instances, this Parliament had beene happie, the King glorious, and his people flourishing, if the King had found none to side with him against all these; and it is strange that so long experience had not taught them more wisedome. But they are now justly rewarded, and if they will but view the Kings Letter dated *March* 13. 1644. There it will be apparent to them he calls those, who have deserted their trust in Parliament, and given up their fortunes and consciences to a compliance with his will, by the name of a base, mutinous, and mungrell Parliament, and despises them for retaining some little conscience to Religion, and this Parliament. Lords and Gentlemen, make the right use of this; and if you be not wicked enough to serve that purpose fully, to which you are designed: endeavour to repent, and learne so much goodnesse, as may bring you back to the right side. There will shortly be no *Medium* left you: whatsoever you thought in the begining (as our charity may thinke you were deceived) you will finde at last, that unlesse you thinke and act the same things, which those unhumane *Irish* Rebells, or the worst forraigne enemies to our Religion

and State could wish to see done, you are no fit Instruments for that cause, which you have unhappily chosen, unlesse you returne to the right way, you must goe as farre in the wrong one, as that will leade you. The *Chronicles* tell us that *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham* was deare to *Richard* the third, whiles he had so much wickednesse as to further the deposing or disinheriting of his two Nephewes: but when he was not bad enough to consent to the murder of those Princes, he was rejected by that King, and afterwards beheaded, if you cannot learne how to goe through with wickednesse: learne a better lesson to returne to goodnesse; or else perhaps the wrong which you have done your Country in betraying her trust, and by consequence shedding so much innocent bloud, may be at last revenged upon you, by them, for whom you did it. The King, who despiseth you by the name of Mungrells, as not altogether firme enough to his owne designe, in another late letter to the Earle of *Ormond*, gives thankes to *Muskery*, *Plunket*, and *Browne*, the cheife Actors in that horrid Massacre of *Ireland*. Which may teach the world what kind of men he confides truly in, and who they are that must reape the benefit of his Conquest, if God (for the sinnes of our *English* Protestants) should permit it: if *Muskery* had beene at *Oxford*, the King had had one man more of his owne opinion, in not acknowledging the Parliament of *England*, for want of such, he is forced to complaine. And you may plainely see what a dishonourable use is made of your persons there, as men meerely *operis secundi*, a number onely that serve to give countenance and credit to the designe of a dearer Partie, and to persecute your Countrey, not for your owne behooves. What is said to you, may be said to all, that are leade by you, to all those thousands which have followed the King as your Traine; for the same opinions which render you now contemptible to the King: render you acceptable to the major part of Protestants, which sides with you, and did at first make the Kings Power so considerable, as it is. If there be any thing of Protestants, of *English* men, of men remayning in you, resume that, whatsoever it be, either acknowledge your selves such, as the King calls you

under the Rose, when he opens his breast to the only partaker of his thoughts; or declare your selves such Patriots, such true sonnes of the Church as the King pretends you to be, when he spreads his Oratory before the people. If we be Rebels at *London*, because we are not so servile as you are, and you are mutineers at *Oxford*, because you are not so servile as the King would have you. Let us know by what definition either you or we are measured, and how we are distinguisht, and let us see that other third remaining party which the King ownes as his loyall faithfull party indeed. It concerns you to look both forward and backward, and having now taken the dimention of the Kings minde by his secret Letters, turne about awhile and looke upon the same in his publike Declarations. See if you can reconcile his former promises to his present designes; for as you have had some representation of the latter in the former part, you shall now be made Spectators and Judges of the former in this latter part. The King (according to *Digbies* superstitious observation) in his Letter of Jan. 14. last, takes it as evident, that *Straffords* innocent blood has brought the judgement of this civill war equally upon both sides, both being equally guilty thereof. The Kings meaning is, That he and his side was as guilty in permitting as the Parliament was in prosecuting. But now for *Canterburies* blood, that being totally put upon the Parliaments score, he doubts not but the hand of Justice will from henceforth totally lay the weight of this guilt upon the Parliaments side. The truth is, *Strafford* and *Canterbury* were the chiefe firebrands of this war, the two ill Councellors that chiefly incensed the King against the Scots, and endeavoured to subject all these three Kingdoms to a new arbitrary Government, & were justly executed for attempting that subvertion of Law which the King has almost perfected since. The King and *Digby* both adjudged *Strafford* worthy of death, yet not for Treason, as it was charged, but not being able to save his life, without using force, and finding force very dangerous they left him to the blocke, against conscience, as is now alleadged. *Canterbury* remains in the same case, and now remorse of Conscience (or rather the old project of altering Law) suggests to the King, That if no resistance be used *Straffords* president will cast

Canterbury, and *Canterburies* all the reſt of the Conſpirators, and ſo the people will make good their ancient freedom ſtill. Hereupon diſcontents break out, the King withdrawes into Scotland, during his abode there the Rebellion in Ireland, ſome attempts againſt Marqueſſe *Hamilton* and others in Scotland, and ſome other dangerous machinations in England put us into ſtrange terrors and apprehenſions. The King at his returne, Decemb. 2. 1641. complains of theſe Jealouſies, Frights, and Alarms, with this profeſsion, *I am ſo farre from repenting of any Act done this Seſſion for the good of my people, that if it were to doe againe I would doe it, and will yet grant what elſe can be juſtly deſired.* He concludes with a recommendation of the buſineſſe of Ireland, and finding the preparations for the ſame ſlow, againe on the 14. of Decemb. he is patheticall in quickning them thereunto. All this notwithſtanding the Parliament findes the old faction at Court to grow ſtrong, and daily to attaine to more prevalence with the King, which beſides other cauſes of jealouſie makes them lay open the indiſpoſition of the whole State in a plain and ſharp Remonſtrance, Decemb. 15. with the Remedies thereof propoſed. The King as to the buſineſſe of Religion anſwers, *For preſerving of the peace and ſafety of the Kingdome from the deſignes of a Popiſh Party, we have and will concur with all juſt deſires of our people in a Parliamentary way. For* Ireland *wee thanke you for your care and cheerfull ingagement for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of that Rebellion, the glory of God in the Proteſtant Profeſſion, the ſafety of the Brittiſh there, our Honour, and this Nations ſo much depending thereupon, &c. Your promiſe to apply your ſelves to ſuch courſes as may ſupport our Royall eſtate with honour and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad, is that which we have ever promiſed our ſelfe, both from your loyalties and affections.* Here are words that ſound nothing but grace, and here is a cleare teſtimony from the Kings owne mouth, concerning the merit of this Nation to this day; But notwithſtanding theſe promiſes and teſtimonies, the King diſcovers daily more and more regret for *Straffords* execution, ſticks cloſer

ſer to the counſels of the ſame faction, and inſtead of hearkening to his Parliament, he commands a charge of Treaſon to be framed againſt ſix Members, the moſt eminent and active in both Houſes. Alſo upon the fourth of *Jan.* the King comes in perſon with a great Traine armed into the Houſe, and miſſing the five Members there, tels the reſt that he muſt have them whereſoever he findes them. Here was the fatall commencement of the war, for the next day the Houſe declares, that they cannot ſit in ſafety any longer at *Weſtminſter*, and therefore they adjourne for ſome daies, and retire into the City. *Dec.* 31. they had petitioned for a Guard out of the City, under command of the Kings Lord Chamberlaine the Earle of *Eſſex*, which was denyed, yet with theſe expreſſions: *We are ignorant of the grounds of your apprehenſions, but proteſt before Almighty God, had we any knowledge, or beliefe of the leaſt deſigne in any of violence, either formerly, or at this time againſt you, we would purſue them to condigne puniſhment, with the ſame ſeverity and deteſtation as we would the greateſt attempt upon our Crowne; and we do ingage ſolemnly the word of a King, that the ſecurity of every one of you from violence, is, and ſhall be ever as much our care, as the preſervation of us and our Children.* Theſe words were ſweetly tempered, but wonne no beliefe, nor could over-power contrary actions, wherefore the Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of *London*, ſeeing nothing but ſymptomes of war in the Court, frame a Petition, praying the King that the Tower of *London* may be put into the hands of perſons of truſt, that by removall of doubtfull and unknowne perſons from about *Whitehall* and *Weſtminſter*, a knowne and approved guard may be appointed for the ſafety of the Parliament, and that the accuſed Members may not be reſtrayned or proceeded againſt, otherwiſe then according to the Priviledges of Parliament. The King grants nothing, but anſwers, *That his reception of ſuch an unuſuall requeſt, is a ſufficient*

instance of the singular estimation he hath of the good affections of the City, which he believes in gratitude will never be wanting to his just commands and service. Hitherto the King speaks nothing, but in justification both of the Cities, Parliaments, and Peoples loyalty. The tumults about *Whitehall, &c.* amounted to no war, are imputed by the King to the Rabble, and by us to the Kings Party; the Parliament is acquitted except the fixe Members, and the prosecution of them also is after declined by the King, yet the King departs from the City, as unsafe, seeing plainly it could not be averted from the Parliament. Upon the 20. of *Jan.* the King sends a Message to the Parliament, to state the differences on both sides, promising that when they are digested into a body, fit to be judged of, it shall appeare what he will do. In answer hereunto, the Commons House (the Lords refusing to joine) onely petition for the raising up unto them and the State a sure ground of safety and confidence, that the Tower of *London* and the Militia of the Kingdome may be put into such persons hands as they should recommend. The King replies; *That the Militia by Law is subject to no command but his owne, which he will reserve to himselfe, as a principall and inseparable flower of his Crowne, professes to take care of Peace, and the rights of the Subject, equally with his life, or the lives of his deareſt Children: He further also conjures them by all acts of duty and favour received, by hopes of future mutuall happinesse, by their love of Religion, the Peace both of this Kingdome, and* Ireland *not to be transported with feares and jealousies.* The Parliament could not believe themselves secured by these professions or asseverations, & the King would not understand, that the settling the Militia at this time in confiding hands, to prevent civill war, was any other, then the taking the Crowne from his head. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*; the King nevertheleſſe persists to declare his abhorrence of the Irish Rebellion, frequently inciting the Parliament to send succors. He also strangely abjures any privity to plots or designes against the

the Lawes, &c. and further makes ſtrict Proclamation, *March* 16. for putting Lawes in execution againſt the Papiſts. The Parliament ſeeing cauſe to ſuſpect that the King and Queene did ſtill favour *Digby* & others flying from the juſtice of Parliament, and appearing to be Incendiaries by Letters intercepted, knowing alſo that the Queen was going into *Holland* to pawne the jewels of the Crowne for Armes; and having divers other grounds of further apprehenſions, againe Petition concerning the ſetling of the Militia, and the Kings returne but are denyed in both. Thoughts of Peace are now laid aſide, and *Hull* being a ſtrong Towne, and a Magazine of Armes, as alſo *Newcaſtle* being the publike Magazine of fuell, and a rich place, are looked upon with ſollicitous eyes: but as the Parliament prevents the King in *Hull*, the King prevents the Parliament in *Newcaſtle*: Yet the war being ſo far advanced, is ſcarcely avowed on either ſide, nor is it agreed which part was put to the defenſive, and therefore on the 2. of *June*, 1642. before any blood ſhed, another aſſay is made for Peace, and the Parliaments Cauſe ſtated fully in 19. Propoſitions, are diſpatched to the King; the maine things deſired were Reformation in Church Government, that power military and civill might be put into confiding hands; That juſtice of Parliament might paſſe upon Delinquents, but the Anſwer returned is, *That if theſe things were granted, the King ſhould remaine but the out ſide, but the picture, but the ſigne of a King.* This, though it was the Trumpet of war and the ſound of defiance in effect, yet was not ſo owned, for ſtill the King ſaies, *He intends not to fixe any diſloyall deſigne upon both or either Houſe of Parliament, he is rather moſt confident of the loyalty, good affections, and integrity of that great bodies good intentions: but the malignity of the deſigne* (he ſaies) *hath proceeded from the ſubtill informations, miſchievous practiſes, and evill Councels of ambitious turbulent ſpirits*, not without a ſtrong *influence upon the very actions of both Houſes.* This was the utmoſt charge of Treaſon, that could be then brought againſt the Parliament, and the Propoſitions of the Parliament treated lately at *Uxbridge*, in *Febr.* 1644. being no other in effect, then theſe of *June*, 1642. this inference may be truly made, that the King hath no cauſe to looke upon us now, otherwiſe then as he did then; and if he have varied ſince from thoſe Vows and Aſſeverations which he made then, the blame will

not remaine on this side, but on his; so that the very calling to minde what hath been said by the King, will be now sufficient for our purpose.

1. Wherefore, as to the waging of warre at all, the third of *June* 1642. the King in his Declaration to the Freeholders of *Yorkeshire*, renounces any intention of warre, his words are, *To the end this present posture, wherein we meet, should not affright you with the distempers of the times, we wish you to looke into the composition and constitution of our Guard, and you will finde it so far from the face or fear of war, that it serves to secure you as well as us from it, &c.* Also *June* 16. in his Declaration at *York*, he useth these words; *Wee againe, in the presence of Almighty God our Maker and Redeemer, assure the world, we have no more thought of making war against our Parliament, then against our owne Children.* To the same purpose he made all his Lords signe a testimoniall with their own hands, in affirmance of his profession. Tis true, afterwards when he tooke the field with his increased Guard, and became the Assaylant at *Hull*, (having also possest himselfe of *Newcastle*) he was driven to save himself by distinctions, for he had not disclaymed all war in generall, but all invasive war, and if the siege of *Hull* had some shew of invasion, yet indeed it was but in order to his defence, and this was a subtilty that all the subsigning Lords and others, it is thought, had not foreseene till now.

2. As to the waging war against the Parliament, *June* 16. The King disclaimes all thoughts of war against his Parliament, and in *July*, after the date of the Earle of *Essex* his Commission, he abhors the like, *Desiring no longer the protection and blessing of Almighty God upon himselfe and his posterity, then he and they shall solemnly observe the Lawes in defence of Parliaments.* Also on *Aug.* 12. after *He acknowledges that the King and Parliament are like the twins of* Hyppocrates, *which must laugh and cry, live and dye together.* So this guides us to more distinctions, that the King may defend himselfe against a Parliament, yet not fight against it, or he may assaile a Malignant party in Parliament, yet not touch the Parliament it selfe: These distinctions hold good on that side, not on this: but by what distinction will the King put a short period to this perpetuall Parliament without violence? or how can he deny it the name of a Parliament without hostillity? Examine the Letters further about this.

3. As

3 As to the waging of War by Papists. The King August 4. when the Earle of Essex his Army was in forming, in his Speech to the Gentry of Yorkshire avers, *That he had taken order that the power of the Sword should not come into the hands of Papists.* And *Aug.* 10. He makes strict Proclamation, *That all Papists presuming to list themselves under him as Officers or Souldiers, should be punished, and a way by Oath was prescribed for discrimination of them.* Also Aug. 29. *The King gives Instructions to his Commissioners for Arrays to disarm all Papists.* So Octob. 27. after the battell at Edge-hill the King thinks it worth his excuse, That he had some few Popish Commanders in his Army, taken in of great necessity, he concludes thus; *We shall never forget our severall Oathes in our severall Declarations, we are too much a Christian to beleeve that we can breake those Promises and avoid the justice of Heaven.* Tis true, afterwards a new distinction came to light, for upon a Petition from the Lancashire Papists, the King did avow, *That Papists were by Law prohibited Armes in time of Peace, not in time of Warre; and therefore he did not onely authorize but require them to arme themselves, servants, tenants, and use the same Armes, &c.* This distinction bore date long after the war begun, but that was want of invention only.

4. As to managing the Warre by Irish Papists, *he had never before named them* but with a bleeding *heart:* His words once were, *We hope the lamentable condition of Ireland will invite us to a faire intelligence and unity, that we may with one heart intend the relieving and recovering of that unhappy Kingdome, where those barbarous Rebels practise such inhumane and unheard of Outrages upon our miserable people, that no Christian eare can heare without horour, nor story parallel.* At an other time thus: *We conjure all our Subjects, by all the bonds of love, duty, or obedience that are precious to good men to joyne with us for recovery of that Kingdome.* In July, at the Siege of Hull, he conjures both Houses as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, *to unite their force for recovery of Ireland.* In October, from Ayno, in his Proclamation, he excuses the taking of Clothes and some Draught-horses sent for Ireland, as done of necessity and against his will. In December the King answers some Irish Protestants thus: *Since the beginning of that monstrous Rebellion I have had no greater sorrow then for the bleeding condition of that Kingdome.* Nay, since the Treaty at Uxbridge, the King in publike washes his hands of all countenance given to the Rebels, and turnes the blame upon the Parliament, though in private he had beene (as it were) a suiter to them for Peace, and some assistance from them by private

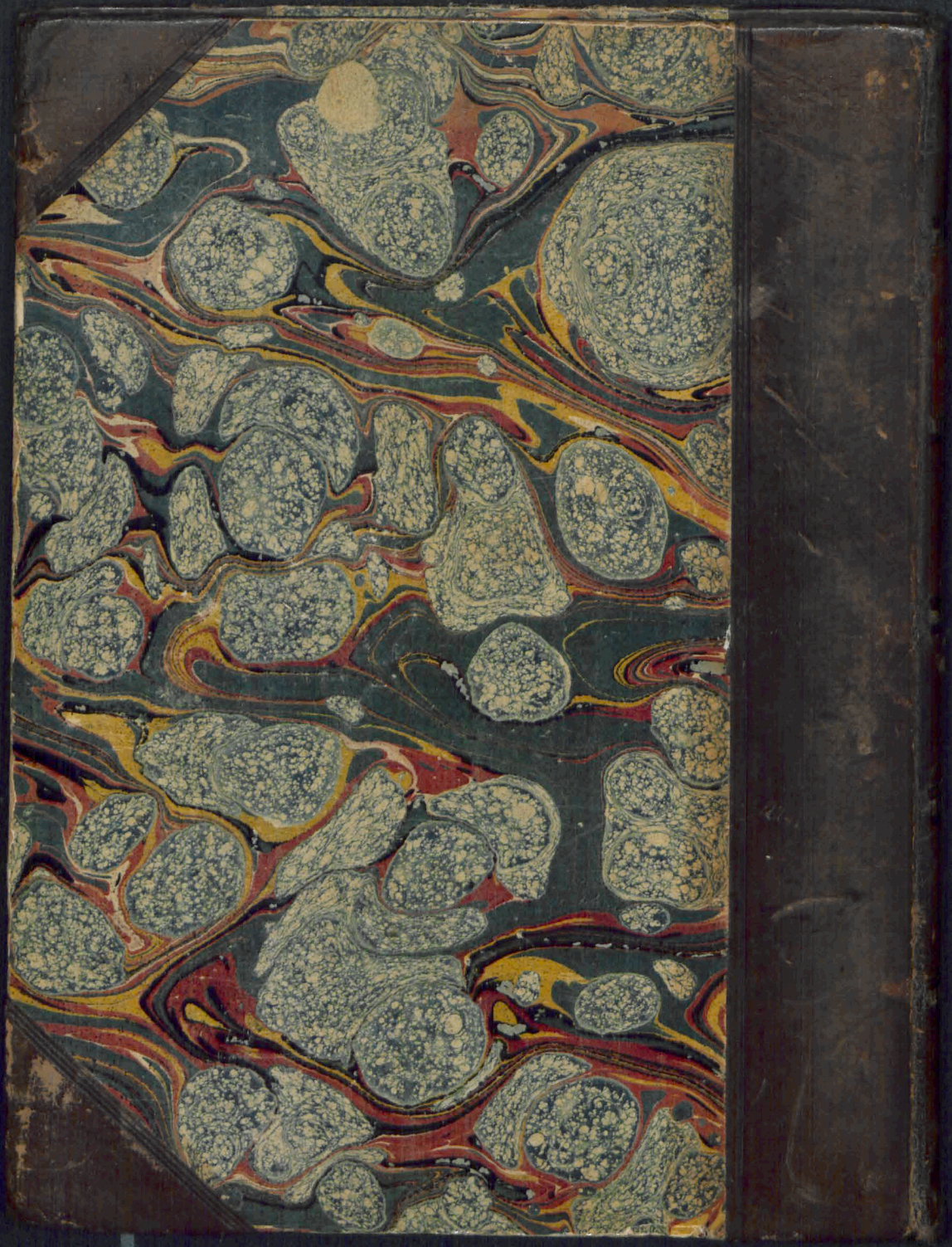
Letter

Letters to *Ormond*. *Quere* how this may be reconcileable, &c.

5 As to the granting of a toleration. The King March 9. 1641. in answer to the Parliaments Declaration, uses these words, *Our faithfull and zealous affection to the true Protestant Profession, and our resolution is to concurre with our Parliament in any possible course for the propagation of it and suppression of Popery.* In April 1642. he calls God to witnesse, with this assurance, *That he will never consent (upon whatsoever pretence) to a toleration of the Popish Profession, or abolition of Laws now in force against Recusants.* Also April 25. *He has no other end but to defend the true Protestant Profession, &c. God so deale with us, as we continue in these Professions.* So in his Speech in the head of his Army, Sept. 19. So in his Proclamation of pardon to London, October 29. *All the professions we have made in our severall Declarations for suppression of Popery and maintenance of Religion, the Laws, &c. shall be as inviolably observed by Us, as we expect a blessing from Almighty God, and obedience from our Subjects. Quere* then how this may be consistent with taking away Statutes in England and Ireland made for suppresion of Popery, and that by the Armes of Papists.

6 As to the bringing in of forraign Force, The King March 9. 1641. in his Declaration from Newmarket, saith, *Whatsoever you are advertised from Rome, Venice, Paris, of the Popes Nuncio's soliciting, Spain, France, &c. for forraign Aids, We are confident no sober honest man can beleeve Us so desperate or senceleſſe to entertaine such designes as would not onely bury this our Kingdome in sudden destruction and ruine, but our Name and Posterity in perpetuall scorne and infamy.* Also March 26. 1642. about solicitation suspected of the King of Denmarke, his words are, *We have neither so ill an opinion of our owne merits, or the affections of our Subjects, as to thinke our selfe in need of forraigne Force.* Also Auguſt. 4. the King in his Speech to the Gentry of Yorkshire acknowledges, *He is wholly cast upon the affections of his people, having no hope but in God, his just cause, and the love of his Subjects.* What distinction can now satisfie us, that neither Irish, French, Lorrainers, Dutch, Danes, are forreiners? The concealing of this by sealing up the lips of the Queene and *Ormond*, and *Cockram* must supply all distinctions.

FINIS.

Ring & the Deeds

1	Jan 9.	1644	7	March 30. 1645	2
	March 20.	1644	6	" 27.	3
	December	1644	9	May 4	
	March 13.	1644	1	Jan 2	4
2	Feb 16	1644	3	Feb 19	
	Jan 7	1644	2	" 15	
	Decem: 15	1644	5	March 5	
	March 21		8	April 9	
	June 14	1644	10	May 14	
	Feb	1644	12	June 9	
	Jan 9			June 30 1644	
	March 30		4	Feb 27 1645	2
			11	May 16